

Message Text

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 01 MOSCOW 16570 211342Z

41

ACTION NODS-00

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 /001 W

----- 027629

R 211227Z OCT 76

FM AMEMBASSY MOSCOW

TO SECSTATE WASHDC 0122

C O N F I D E N T I A L MOSCOW 16570

NODIS

E.O. 11652: XGDS-1

TAGS: MPOL, CSCE, UR, US

SUBJECT: CSCE: U.S.-SOVIET COOPERATION AT BELGRADE AND BEFORE(AGAIN)

REF: (A) MOSCOW 15852, (B) MOSCOW 15782

1. SUMMARY. SOVIET MFA OFFICIALS WORKING ON CSCE PRESENTED STANDARD SOVIET LINE ON BELGRADE--FULL IMPLEMENTATION OF ALL PARTS OF FINAL ACT PACKAGE, NO RECRIMINATIONS, PLUS ATTENTION TO BASKET II-TYPE CONFERENCES PROPOSAL--BUT FIELDDED QUESTIONS ON SPECIFICS OF SOVIET APPROACH WITH REFERENCE TO U.S.-SOVIET BILATERAL COOPERATION IN FINAL STAGES OF FIRST NEGOTIATION. CONTEXT STRONGLY SUGGESTS THAT SOVIETS ARE DEFERRING DECISIONS ON TACTICS UNTIL THEY GET A BETTER FIX ON POSSIBILITY FOR RENEWING U.S.-SOVIET EFFORTS TO WHCIH THEY ASCRIBE HELSINKI SUCCESS. END SUMMARY.

2. ACTING POL COUNSELOR AND EMBOFF CALLED OCT 19 ON MFA ADMINISTRATION FOR FOREIGN POLICY PLANNING AMERICAN SECTOR OFFICIALS WORKING ON CSCE (COUNSELOR N.N. IZVEKOV AND "CHIEF COUNSELOR" V.F. PETROVSKIY, WHO JOINED LATER), TO ENQUIRE IN GENERAL TERMS AFTER SOVIET APPROACH TO BELGRADE. AS IT HAPPENED, IZVEKOV IS AN MBFR EXPERT WHO SPENT 1975 IN VIENNA WITH DELEGATION, BUT PETROVSKIY, WHO WAS SEC GEN OF SOVIET DEL AT GENEVA, IS CONTINUING HIS LONG, ACTIVE INVOLVEMENT WITH CSCE.

3. BEFORE PETROVSKIY ARRIVED, IZVEKOV STATED FAMILIAR
CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 02 MOSCOW 16570 211342Z

SOVIET POSITION WITH REGARD TO CSCE AND BELGRADE, AND

PETROVSKIY REPEATED IT SEPARATELY ON HIS ARRIVAL:

-- THE USSR IS IN FAVOR OF FULL IMPLEMENTATION OF ALL THE AGREEMENTS AND UNDERSTANDINGS IN THE HELSINKI FINAL ACT, WITHOUT EXCEPTION, AND WITHOUT "HIERARCHICAL" ORDERING OF BASKETS (LIKE BASKET III, PETROVSKIY ADDED HELPFULLY). THE HELSINKI DOCUMENT IS A CAREFULLY NETOTIATED COMPROMISE, RESPONDING TO THE INTERESTS OF ALL PARTIES, AND TINKERING WITH IT INVOLVES A DANGER OF UNRAVELLING WHICH WOULD BE IN NO ONE'S INTEREST.

-- THE SOVIET UNION DOES NOT WANT THE BELGRADE MEETING TO TURN INTO A TRIBUNAL, OR A "CLAIMS BUREAU;" IT SHOULD LOOK INSTEAD "TO THE FUTURE," FOR WAYS OF PROCEEDING FARTHER ALONG THE PATH CHARTED AT HELSINKI. HELSINKI CREATED A FULL AGENDA, AND THERE IS STILL PLENTY OF WORK TO BE DONE WITHIN THE CONTEXT AGREED THERE.

4. WHEN IT WAS POINTED OUT THAT THE POSITIVE PART OF THIS APPROACH --FULL IMPLEMENTATION OF THE WHOL FINAL ACT-- WAS VERY GENERAL, AND THAT THE NEGATIVE PART-- NO RECRIMINATIONS--WAS UNLIKELY OF ITSELF TO ASSURE A CONSTRUCTIVE ATMOSPHERE OR TO SPARK FORWARD PROGRESS AT BELGRADE, BOTH SOVIETS ASKED ABOUT THE U.S. ATTITUDE TOWARD SOVIET PROPOSAL FOR ALL-EUROPEAN CONFERENCES IN ENERGY, TRANSPORTATION AND THE ENVIRONMENT (ETE). WHILE THEY DID NOT RESPOND TO VIEW THAT CONCRETE PROGRESS IN ECE DISCUSSIONS WAS THE BEST APPROACH TO THIS PROPOSAL, PETROVSKIY REACTED STRONGLY TO VIEW THAT SOVIET PROPOSAL IN BASKET II-RELATED AREAS MAKES IT DIFFICULT TO OBJECT TO OTHER PROPOSALS IN OTHER CSCE AREAS. THE SITUATION IS NOT THE SAME, HE SAID: THE ETE PROPOSAL "HAS ITS BASIS" IN BASKET II AGREEMENTS, BUT "GOES BEYOND IT", AND IS THEREFORE NOT LIMITED TO THE HELSINKI CONTEXT.

5. ASKED BOUT SOVIET IDEAS ON WHAT BELGRADE SHOULD ACTUALLY DO, PETROVSKIY REPLIED THAT THE HELSINKI MANDATE WAS VERY CLEAR: THE FIRST MEETING SHOULD PREPARE AN AGENDA AND SET A DATE FOR THE REVIEW SESSION. ASKED WHETHER PREPARING AN AGENDA WOULD NOT IN FACT CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 03 MOSCOW 16570 211342Z

INVOLVE THE SAME KINDS OF SUBSTANTIVE DISCUSSIONS WHICH HAD MARKED THE PREPARATORY TALKS, AND WHETHER THE SOVIETS HAD IDEAS ABOUT LEVEL OF REPRESENTATION, AND AREAS WHERE IT MIGHT BE PROMISING TO EXPLORE POSSIBILITIES FOR FORWARD MOVEMENT, BOTH SOVIETS BECAME RESOLUTELY EVASIVE, FIRST WITH THE ARGUMENT THAT "OPERATIONAL" ASPECTS OF CSCE WERE THE RESPONSIBILITY OF THE MFA ADMINISTRATION FOR GENERAL INTERNATIONAL

PROBLEMS UNDER ADAMISHIN, SECOND WITH THE ARGUMENT THAT BELGRADE IS, AFTER ALL, A LONG WAY OFF.

6. REMINDED THAT THE EC-9 IS NEVERTHELESS BEGINNING TO TAKE A HARDER AND MORE CONCRETE LOOK AT BELGRADE, PETROVSKIY VOLUNTEERED THAT MUCH WILL DEPEND ON THE STATE OF U.S.-SOVIET RELATIONS AS BELGRADE APPROACHES. U.S.-SOVIET CONSULTATIONS AND COOPERATION ON CSCE MATTERS HAD PLAYED AN IMPORTANT, EVEN AN ESSENTIAL ROLE IN BRINGING CSCE TO ITS SUCCESSFUL CONCLUSION AT HELSINKI. U.S.-SOVIET RELATIONS ARE, CURRENTLY, "NOT GOOD," AND HE WAS DISAPPOINTED WITH THIS. BUT, AS A GENERAL RULE, IT COULD BE SAID THAT IF OUR RELATIONS WERE GOOD, MOST OTHER INTERNATIONAL PROBLEMS DISAPPEARED, AND THE RULE CERTAINLY APPLIES IN CSCE.

7. COMMENT. THIS IS THE SECOND TIME IN THREE WEEKS (REF B) THAT SOVIETS KNOWLEDGEABLE ABOUT CSCE MATTERS HAVE RESURRECTED THE MEMORY OF U.S.-SOVIET COOPERATION TO BRING THE FIRST NEGOTIATION TO A SUCCESSFUL CONCLUSION, IN THE CONTEXT OF DISCUSSION OF THE ROAD TO BELGRADE. WITH PETROVSKIY EVEN MORE THAN WITH SOKOLOV, THE CONTEXT SUGGESTED STRONGLY THAT THE HOPE OF RENEWING THIS COOPERATION AS BELGRADE APPROACHES HAS BEEN ONE IMPORTANT FACTOR EXPLAINING WHY SOVIETS APPEAR TO HAVE DONE SO LITTLE IN THE WAY OF PREPARATION SO FAR. THUS, WHILE THEIR NATURAL INCLINATIONS ARE MINIMALIST AND TACTICAL (REF A), U.S.-SOVIET CONSIDERATIONS MAY GO RATHER FARTHER THAN SIMPLE INERTIA TO EXPLAIN WHY THEY ARE DEFERRING EVEN TACTICAL DECISIONS UNTIL NEXT YEAR. MATLOCK

CONFIDENTIAL

NNN

Message Attributes

Automatic Decaptioning: X
Capture Date: 01 JAN 1994
Channel Indicators: n/a
Current Classification: UNCLASSIFIED
Concepts: AGREEMENTS, MEETING REPORTS, FOREIGN POLICY POSITION, BASKET II, INTERGOVERNMENTAL COOPERATION, CAT-A
Control Number: n/a
Copy: SINGLE
Draft Date: 21 OCT 1976
Decaption Date: 01 JAN 1960
Decaption Note:
Disposition Action: RELEASED
Disposition Approved on Date:
Disposition Authority: KelleyW0
Disposition Case Number: n/a
Disposition Comment: 25 YEAR REVIEW
Disposition Date: 28 MAY 2004
Disposition Event:
Disposition History: n/a
Disposition Reason:
Disposition Remarks:
Document Number: 1976MOSCOW16570
Document Source: CORE
Document Unique ID: 00
Drafter: n/a
Enclosure: n/a
Executive Order: X1
Errors: N/A
Film Number: P840099-0314, N760007-0724
From: MOSCOW
Handling Restrictions: n/a
Image Path:
ISecure: 1
Legacy Key: link1976/newtext/t19761029/aaaaayob.tel
Line Count: 145
Locator: TEXT ON-LINE, ON MICROFILM
Office: ACTION NODS
Original Classification: CONFIDENTIAL
Original Handling Restrictions: n/a
Original Previous Classification: n/a
Original Previous Handling Restrictions: NODIS
Page Count: 3
Previous Channel Indicators: n/a
Previous Classification: CONFIDENTIAL
Previous Handling Restrictions: NODIS
Reference: 76 MOSCOW 15852, 76 MOSCOW 15782
Review Action: RELEASED, APPROVED
Review Authority: KelleyW0
Review Comment: n/a
Review Content Flags:
Review Date: 19 APR 2004
Review Event:
Review Exemptions: n/a
Review History: RELEASED <19 APR 2004 by CollinP0>; APPROVED <29 JUL 2004 by KelleyW0>
Review Markings:

Margaret P. Grafeld
Declassified/Released
US Department of State
EO Systematic Review
04 MAY 2006

Review Media Identifier:
Review Referrals: n/a
Review Release Date: n/a
Review Release Event: n/a
Review Transfer Date:
Review Withdrawn Fields: n/a
Secure: OPEN
Status: NATIVE
Subject: CSCE: US - SOVIET COOPERATION AT BELGRADE AND BEFORE (AGAIN)
TAGS: MPOL, PFOR, US, UR, CSCE, (IZVEKOV, N N), (PETROVSKIY, V F)
To: STATE
Type: TE
Markings: Margaret P. Grafeld Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 04 MAY 2006